

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 045659

NODIS

LONDON FOR MOOSE VIENNA FOR SMITH

FOLLOWING REPEAT PRETORIA

SENT ACTION SECSTATE FEB 22

QUOTE S E C R E T PRETORIA 1020

NODIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE, USUN AND MOOSE IN LONDON
AND GERARD SMITH IN VIENNA

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PINT, SF

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH BRAND FOURIE

1. I CALLED ON BRAND FOURIE IN CAPE TOWN YESTERDAY AFTERNOON
(FEB. 21) IN ORDER TO DISCUSS HOW THE NUCLEAR TALKS MIGHT
UNFOLD NOW THAT THE INITIAL PRESENTATION HAS BEEN MADE. I
UNDERScored THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THE WASHINGTON
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 045659

TECHNICAL TEAM BEING ABLE TO TAKE BACK A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING
OF SAG (1) WILLINGNESS TO ADHERE TO NPT, (2) DISPOSITION TO
PLACE VALINDABA UNDER SAFEGUARDS, (3) CLARIFICATION OF
PURPOSE OF KALIHARI TEST SITE, AND (4) RECEPTIVITY TO OUR
SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR USE OF MEU FOR SAFARI I. REFERRING TO
HIS EARLIER INDICATIONS OF POINTS OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO SAG,
I SAID WE ASSUMED THAT HE WOULD WANT TO RESTATE THESE SO THAT THE

TEAM WOULD HAVE A TOTAL VIEW OF SAG CONCERNS.

2. FOURIE SAID HE HAD ASKED DR. ROUX TO GET A FULL PICTURE OF THE SCOPE OF OUR PROPOSALS AND REPORT THESE TO CAPE TOWN TOGETHER WITH HIS ASSESSMENT. THESE VIEWS WOULD FORM THE BASIS FOR CABINET-LEVEL REVIEW. NOTHING COULD BE SAID TO THE WASHINGTON TEAM UNTIL THIS STAGE IS COMPLETED. FOURIE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE PROBLEM WITH TRYING TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD IS THAT THESE ARE, IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN VIEW, SO CLOSELY LINKED TO OVERALL USG INTENTIONS TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA AS TO BE INSEPARABLE. THIS MEANS THAT THE SAG PERCEPTION OF WHAT THESE INTENTIONS ARE MATERIALLY INFLUENCES SAG ATTITUDES TOWARD NUCLEAR ISSUES. BEING QUITE FRANK, HE SAID THAT PM VORSTER AND OTHER HIGH OFFICIALS, INCLUDING PIK BOTHA, ARE CONVINCED THE USG IS INTENT ON APPLYING A WHOLE RANGE OF SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA WHICH EVENTUALLY WOULD FRUSTRATE NUCLEAR COOPERATION. THEREFORE WHAT IS THE POINT OF THE SAG MAKING COMMITMENTS AGAINST EXPECTATIONS OR PROMISES THAT CANNOT BE SUSTAINED?

3. I EXPLAINED TO FOURIE THAT BECAUSE WE ATTACH SUCH IMPORTANCE TO NON-PROLIFERATION ON A WORLD-WIDE BASIS, THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE IS BEING ADDRESSED SEPARATELY. PRESENCE OF WASHINGTON TEAM UNDERSCORED THIS APPROACH.
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PAGE 03 STATE 045659

ADMINISTRATION IS PREPARED TO CONTINUE COOPERATION ON PEACEFUL USES PROVIDED SAG MAKES THIS A DEFENSIBLE PROPOSITION BY ADHERING TO NPT AND PLACING ALL FACILITIES UNDER ACCEPTABLE SAFEGUARDS. FOURIE SAID SAG HAS NO OBJECTION TO NPT IN PRINCIPLE. REGARDING SAFEGUARDS SAFARI I AND KOEBERG ALREADY UNDER CONTROLS WHICH HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED BY US. THIS IS NOT THE PROBLEM. WHAT INTERESTS SAG IS OVERALL USG ATTITUDE TOWARD SA AND ITS INTENTION FOR THE FUTURE WHICH IN FINAL ANALYSIS WOULD OVERRIDE SPECIFIC NUCLEAR COOPERATION.

4. PICKING UP FOURIE'S POINT ABOUT GROWING HIGH-LEVEL FEARS ABOUT USG INTENTIONS, I TOLD FOURIE I WAS AWARE OF THIS ATTITUDE, THE MORE SO SINCE THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER 19. I AGAIN REVIEWED THE PURPOSE OF THE VIENNA MEETING TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THIS PERCEIVED IMPLACABLE HOSTILITY IS NOT CORRECT. FOURIE BROUGHT UP THE ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE STATEMENT AND VARIOUS PUBLIC COMMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG. HE SAID NO MATTER WHAT SOUTH AFRICA DOES, THERE IS ONLY CONDEMNATION AND NO RECOGNITION. ONCE MORE I POINTED OUT WHAT THE VICE PRESIDENT HAD SAID AT VIENNA, I.E., THAT IF THE SAG TOOK MEANINGFUL ACTION

IN THE DIRECTION OF ABOLISHING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
AND STARTING DOWN THE PATH OF FULL PARTICIPATION,
HOWEVER THAT CONCEPT MIGHT BE COLLECTIVELY DEFINED
BY LEADERS OF ALL RPT ALL POPULATION GROUPS, THE USG WOULD
PUBLICLY AND FAVORABLY RECOGNIZE SUCH ACTION. THE DIFFICULTY IS
THAT THIS KIND OF MOVEMENT HAS NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING. ON THE
CONTRARY, THE DRAMATIC ACTION HAS BEEN THE BANNINGS
AND DETENTION OF OCTOBER 19 LEAVING THE US AND OTHER
FRIENDS OF SOUTH AFRICA WITH NOTHING SIGNIFICANT TO
ENDORSE. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SAG COULD SEE ITS
WAY CLEAR TO OPEN A DIALOGUE WITH GENUINE BLACK LEADERS
ON A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK, AS IT SEEMS TO BE
WILLING TO DO WITH COLOREDS AND INDIANS, THE WEST MIGHT
HAVE SOMETHING SOLID TO BE AFFIRMATIVE ABOUT. FOURIE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 045659

OBSERVED THAT THE GENERAL STRATEGY IS TO MOVE THE
HOMELANDS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE. HE RECOGNIZED THIS DID
NOT SOLVE THE BLACK URBAN PROBLEM. HE SAID SPECIAL
PROVISION FOR PARTICIPATION OF URBAN BLACKS IN LOCAL
AFFAIRS WOULD TAKE CARE OF THIS. IN TIME TALKS WOULD
BE OPENED WITH THE NEW INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS ABOUT LAND
CONSOLIDATION. EVENTUALLY THE OBJECTIVE IS TO BRING
ABOUT ECONOMIC UNION WITH POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE
ALONG THE LINES NOW IN EFFECT WITH THE BLS COUNTRIES. I
ASKED HIM WHETHER THIS WAS A REALISTIC SOLUTION TO A
PROBLEM WHICH BY THE END OF THE CENTURY WOULD INVOLVE
SOME 37 MILLION PEOPLE STILL CONFINED TO ABOUT 13 PERCENT
OF THE LAND. FOURIE SHRUGGED HIS SHOULDERS.

5. FOURIE THEN SHIFTED THE DISCUSSION TO NAMIBIA.
THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF THIS DISCUSSION,
COVERED ALREADY IN CAPE TOWN 323, WAS HIS EMPHASIS
ON THE NEED TO KEEP THE DIALOGUE GOING. HE THOUGHT
THAT AT NEW YORK THE EFFORT CAME DANGEROUSLY CLOSE TO
SPUTTERING TO A HALT. I TOLD HIM THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD
BE WORKING ON THE COMMENTS TO THE ELABORATION OF THE
PROPOSAL AND SUGGESTING NEXT STEPS. THERE WAS NEED FOR
GREATER FLEXIBILITY AND COMPROMISE ON BOTH SIDES. I
HOPED THAT THE SAG WOULD TAKE NO ACTION WHICH WOULD
LEAD TO A BREAK, SUCH AS ANNOUNCEMENT OF ELECTIONS.
HE RESPONDED THERE WAS STILL SOME FLEXIBILITY ON THIS,
BUT THEY COULD NOT BE PUT OFF INDEFINITELY.

5. AT THE END, I BROUGHT THE CONVERSATION BACK TO
THE NUCLEAR TALKS. HE WAS NON-COMMITTAL ABOUT ANY SAG
RESPONSE UNTIL DR. ROUX AND HIS COLLEAGUES REPORTED THEIR
FINDINGS TO CAPE TOWN. I EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THIS MIGHT
BE DONE BY FRIDAY SO THAT BY NEXT WEDNESDAY WE COULD HAVE
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PAGE 05 STATE 045659

THE SAG'S CONSIDERED REACTION TO OUR PROPOSALS.

BOWDLER

UNQUOTE VANCE

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